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ABSTRACT

In studying the history of the American press, little attention has been given to printing networks and the apprenticeship system, factors which permitted the press not only to survive but to grow. Essential to press growth was the apprenticeship system, vocational education which replenished and augmented the craft's practitioners. Apprentices provided cheap labor, but they could also be used, as Benjamin Franklin demonstrated, to create a printing network, an informal web of printers formed by Franklin's decision to make partners of apprentices and journeymen whose character, skill, work ethic, and political ideology impressed him. With Franklin supplying the capital and materials for his workers to set up shop, his partners formed associations and became economically viable. This signaled a movement away from reliance on political and social elites, who had helped support the press in order to control a means of articulating and generating support for their views. The fact that a segment of the laboring class assumed control of American mass communication presaged an increase in political activity among the lower classes. The printing activities of Franklin and his cohorts indicate the significance of loosely-formed but influential networks among printers. These structures enlarged the scope of the early-American printing trade, aided in the dissemination of information and opinion, and impressed the significance of journalism upon the collective consciousness of early America. (Fifty-nine footnotes are appended.) (MM)

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FROM APPRENTICE TO JOURNEYMAN TO PARTNER:

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S WORKERS AND THE

GROWTH OF THE EARLY-AMERICAN PRINTING TRADE

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The lyf so short, the craft so long to lerne.

-- Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Parliament of Fowls"

Many apprentices in the early-American printing trade must have felt the same way. Beginning at a young age, they commonly spent seven years as contractually-bound, unpaid laborers. They usually had to promise not to gamble, marry, fornicate, frequent taverns, buy and sell or divulge secrets of the business. They worked long hours, often performed menial tasks and were subjected to beatings, all without pay. Yet apprentices endured the arduous existence because it held for them the promise of eventual self-employment. Their goal was to learn a craft which they could practice when their apprenticeship expired. (1)

Additionally, printing apprenticeships were especially desirable because of the trade's potential earning power and the relative ease with which one could become a master craftsman. "Printing was nearly as elite a trade as silversmithing," which was "at the top of the craft hierarchy," J.A. Rorabaugh wrote, adding that printing was lucrative. "A growing population and increased literacy, as well as increased commerce and political controversy, gave the colonial printer a growing market." (2)

Apprenticeships did more than serve as a system of vocational education. By serving as a source of unpaid labor, they enabled the fledgling American press to not only survive but expand.

Scholars who study the eighteenth century, such as David A. Anderson and Jeffery A. Smith, have argued that press freedom was essential in colonists' minds because it served as a check on what many viewed as government's natural inclination toward despotism and oppression. They have regarded the growth of press freedom as arising from escalating tensions and periodic clashes between the British government and the American colonists -- tensions and clashes in which the press played an increasingly larger role. (3)

Other scholars have contended that political factions were important to the growth of the press. As public issues became more complex in the first half of the eighteenth century and as politicians discovered the need to reach a wider audience, the press became a powerful force in political culture. Through pamphlets and newspaper essays, the laboring classes had more access to political issues than ever before. These salvos were "necessary to prepare the Minds of the Publick," Benjamin Franklin wrote. Gary Nash has noted the press' deliberate effort to woo laborers through allegations of a causal link between the rise of a wealthy elite and the economic woes of the lower and middle classes. This fueled activism and resentment among the laborers. Both the use of the press as a political weapon and the increased readership among a politically conscious populace provided considerable income for printers. (4)

Several historians have identified other important sources of income. Daniel Boorstin focused on official sources of press growth, maintaining that colonies owed the existence of their first printing houses to government subsidy. "In the earliest years the

bulk of what was issued from the presses was government work; statutes and the votes and proceedings of colonial assemblies," he wrote, adding, "the colonial press could hardly be a nursery of novel, startling, or radical ideas. The printer had to be a 'government man,' acceptable to the ruling group in his colony." MaryAnn Yodelis posed an alternative theory, contending that issuing publications sponsored by religious groups provided a more substantial income for colonial printers. (5)

The sources of press ideology and income have been thoroughly studied. However, there has been relatively little examination of such economic and organizational factors as printing networks and the apprenticeship system, which made it possible for the press to not only survive but grow, while serving, in the words of Andrew Hamilton during the Zenger trial, "publicly to remonstrate the abuses of power in the strongest terms, to put their neighbors upon their guard against the craft or open violence of men in authority." (6)

Essential to press growth was the apprenticeship system, a means of vocational education which replenished and augmented the craft's practitioners and through which the "art" (special skill) and the "mystery" (special knowledge) of printing was passed on from one generation to the next, thus insuring a sufficient supply of skilled labor. (7)

Early-American newspapers relied on printing apprentices as an inexpensive yet essential source of labor. These apprentices aspired to master their trade well enough to be hired as journeymen, and as such were the beneficiaries of "training programs" designed to fill the ranks of their craft.

However, apprenticeships could be used for more than simply providing a ready supply of cheap labor, as Franklin demonstrated through the formation of his printing network. The foundation of this informal web of printers was laid by Franklin's decision, unprecedented in America, to make partners of apprentices and journeymen whose character, skill and work ethic -- and perhaps political ideology -- impressed him. Franklin established these partners, most of whom were his former employees, with their own printing houses and supplies, and in his capacity as deputy postmaster-general for North America arranged for many of them to serve as local postmasters. These postmasterships provided the printers with additional income while allowing them to be the first to receive information and newspapers from other colonies and abroad. It also encouraged them to communicate more with Franklin, because letters to and from the deputy postmaster-general traveled free. These partnerships formed the crux of Franklin's network. (8)

The Franklin network was a loosely-structured organization of Franklin's business partners, trade associates and family members in printing. It grew to be the largest, most prominent and most geographically extensive of the early-American printing organizations. It lasted from the 1730s to the 1780s, stretched from New England to Antigua and comprised more than two dozen members. (9)

The network altered practices in not only the colonial but the European printing trade by providing capital to set up workers as partners and network members. As an economic entity and source of

mutual support, Franklin's network was integral to the success of many eighteenth-century printers and played a key role in the development of American journalism.

Although detailed description of Franklin's network and analysis of its structure are outside the scope of this article, (10) factors which contributed to Franklin's promotion of apprentices and journeymen to partnerships -- including his own experiences as an apprentice and a journeyman -- will be examined.

I

The apprenticeship, in printing and many other trades, was a well-established custom for passing on a skill to male youths, both in the American colonies and abroad. Apprentices were unfree laborers who performed duties intended to teach them a craft, thus insuring an adequate supply of skilled labor within the trade. Apprentices usually lived in the master's home and worked closely with each other, in sharp contrast modern industry, where the emphasis is on organization and the control is impersonal.

Sometimes these relationships turned sour, though, due to the master's cruelty, the apprentice's slothfulness or both. Philadelphia printer Robert Aitken and apprentice Joseph Belknap frequently squabbled over Belknap's work habits and his tendency to keep the company of "bad boys." Eventually the relationship had seriously deteriorated. "I find the breach is grown so wide," the boy's father, the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, wrote, "that they both desire a seperation. A., by his own account, has made a very free use of 'the fist' and the 'knotted cord.'" Ultimately the indentures were canceled. (11) In another case, apprentices

and journeymen of a print shop in 1730s Paris massacred dozens of cats, including many which were pets of the master and mistress, in a form of workers' revolt. (12)

Another function of the apprenticeship was more subtle -- it served to reaffirm social class hierarchy. Masters in the most attractive trades could demand a fee in order to take on an apprentice. As impoverished parents could seldom afford this payment, their children were rarely apprenticed in trades which offered the prospect of climbing the social ladder. The use of apprenticeships to maintain the social structure was evident as early as the thirteenth century in England, where apprenticeships required an "entry fee" so prohibitive that only sons from the governing mercantile class could secure admittance. (13)

Comparing European life to that in America, Franklin wrote that in Europe, "it is difficult for a poor Man, who has Children, to place them where they may gain, or learn to gain, a decent Livelihood. The Artisans, who fear creating future rivals in Business, refuse to take Apprentices, but upon Conditions of Money, Maintenance, or the like, which the Parents are unable to comply with. Hence the Youth are dragg'd up in Ignorance of every gainful Art, and oblig'd to become Soldiers, or Servants, or Thieves, for a Subsistence." He contended that such fees were not demanded in America, because "the rapid Increase of Inhabitants takes away the Fear of Rivalship ..." (14)

It appears Franklin forgot an important experience from his own youth. The expectation of a fee prompted his father to remove the 12-year-old Franklin from his apprenticeship to a Boston

cutler, cousin Samuel Franklin, and instead place him in the printing trade with brother James Franklin, who agreed not to charge a fee. Samuel Franklin's "Expectations of a Fee with me displeasing my Father, I was taken home again," where the boy's father "at length determin'd ... to make me a Printer." (15)

One of Franklin's partners, Peter Timothy, also expected fees for taking on apprentices. He expressed this desire by referring to boys who could be "well-recommended." In one newspaper advertisement, Timothy announced, "The printer of this paper will take an apprentice, provided he be well recommended." In another, he noted, "The printer of this paper wants a sober lad as an apprentice, who must be well-recommended." (16)

II

The training of colonial youths through the apprenticeship system was essential to the stability and continuity of the early-American printing trade. Not only did apprentices replenish the ranks of labor by graduating to journeymen and some ultimately to masters of their own shops, they also enabled their masters to hire fewer journeymen.

Because the prospect of economic gain dictated freedom of movement in early-eighteenth-century America, journeymen were often transient. As the term implies, journeymen tended to move from city to city in search of higher wages, which would draw them closer to their goal of saving enough capital to open their own shop. Because they were comparatively few in number, most journeymen had little trouble securing work. (17) However, in order for masters to afford themselves some continuity in their

work force, as well as to counter the spiraling wage demands of journeymen determined to set up their own printing houses, many masters relied heavily on apprentices. Apprentices cost little more than food and a room in the house, were usually bound for seven years and could be trained to perform many of the journeymen's duties. This allowed the masters to hire fewer journeymen and thus pay fewer -- and lower -- wages. (18)

However, the disadvantage of allowing an apprentice to master the printing trade too soon is exemplified by the case of James Parker, who became one of the most gifted and important printers of the century and a close associate of Franklin. Parker, at age 11 or 12, signed an apprenticeship indenture (19) with New York City printer William Bradford on January 1, 1726 for a term of eight years. Bradford was to teach Parker printing and bookbinding, provide him with drink, apparel and lodging and supply him two sets of clothes at the end of his apprenticeship. Parker ran away before he finished it, though. He fled Bradford's employ on May 17, 1733, but not for the apprentice's common complaint of mistreatment. Instead, he deserted because he believed his printing skills were already superior to Bradford's. Years later, Parker reflected on his apprenticeship, writing "Forty Years ago when a Boy ... I was the first that brought the printing Art into any Credit here (New York City)." (20)

Bradford advertised for Parker's return, describing him as "an Apprentice lad ... by trade a Printer, aged about 19 years; he is of a fresh Complexion, with short yellowish Hair" and offering 20 shillings for his return. This was doubled a month later.

Probably at the urging of Franklin, who had befriended the runaway, taken him in and presumably permitted him to work in the shop as a journeyman, Parker eventually served the duration of his apprenticeship, plus a penalty of additional service for running away. (21)

Franklin's reason for urging Parker to return to Bradford may have been motivated by his own imprudence a decade earlier. At age 12 in 1718, Franklin had been apprenticed to his older brother James, the printer of the New-England Courant, until he turned 21 (effectively, for a period of more than eight years). The terms of the apprenticeship probably called for Franklin to serve his brother loyally and promise not to marry, fornicate, give away the secrets of the business or buy and sell on his master's credit without permission. At the conclusion of the contract, Ben was likely to have received a new suit of clothes. The indenture also included an unusual stipulation -- during his final year of service, Ben would receive journeyman's wages. "In a little time I made great Proficiency in the Business, and became a useful Hand to my Brother," he wrote. (22)

However, after repeated quarrels with his brother, who "was passionate & had often beaten me," Franklin ran away from his brother's tutelage in 1723 and offered his services to the four other printers in Boston. None would employ him, though, for James "took care to prevent my getting Employment in any other Printing-House of the Town, by going round & speaking to every Master, who accordingly refus'd to give me Work." (23) That James Franklin was able to prevent his brother from securing work is an early example of the structural solidarity within the printing

trade which later characterized networks.

Stymied in his efforts locally and trying to avoid his family, whom he thought would doubtless prevent his departure, Franklin arranged to board a New York-bound ship covertly, under the guise that he "had got a naughty Girl with Child, whose Friends would compel me to marry her." Finding no work there, he traveled to Philadelphia and passed himself off as a journeyman, eventually securing employment with both of that city's printers, first Andrew Bradford on a sporadic basis and then Samuel Keimer full-time. (24)

Had he been in England instead of America, Franklin would not have been so successful in billing himself as a journeyman. Eighteenth-century guild jurisdiction was so powerful that he would probably not have been able to find work, and even if he did, his credentials would have been more thoroughly investigated. Had he been discovered as a runaway apprentice, he could have been prosecuted. However, as there were no guilds in colonial America, a capable boy like Franklin could simply move to a different colony and claim journeyman status. The legal penalties for apprentices running away differed from colony to colony and did not extend colonial borders. Also, no records were kept which certified the completion of educational apprenticeships. A high demand for skilled workers in the more prestigious crafts gave the colonial printing apprentice an excellent chance of finding employment. (25)

Despite the unkindness with which his brother had treated him, Franklin later expressed regret for his action. In a return visit to Boston in 1733, 10 years after he had fled, Franklin visited his estranged brother in Newport and made amends. Franklin wrote, "In

returning I call'd at Newport, to see my Brother there with his Printing-House. Our former differences were forgotten, and our Meeting was very cordial and affectionate." Afflicted with failing health and anticipating death, James asked Ben to take on his son, James Franklin Jr., as an apprentice. The Philadelphian agreed, noting, "Thus it was that I made my Brother ample Amends for the Service I had depriv'd him of by leaving him so early." (26)

However, Franklin was probably never completely contrite, as he was by this time in charge of his own Philadelphia printing house and had fared as well or better than if he had continued to endure James' abuse for the duration of his indenture. The example Franklin set and his subsequent good fortune may have been on the minds of many boys who ran away from their own apprenticeships, intent on seeking their fortune as Franklin had done. The omnipresent temptation to run away must have seemed even more attractive to boys who were confident of their printing skills, like Parker, because of the relative ease of traveling to another colony and seeking employment as journeymen.

When apprentices ran away, they hurt the businesses of many colonial printers, who needed every available worker. The printers frequently published notices offering rewards for the return of footloose apprentices. For instance, Andrew Bradford advertised in a 1728 issue of his American Weekly Mercury for the return of apprentice Nicholas Classon. William Parks noted in the Virginia Gazette that one of his runaways was adept at making and picking locks. Joseph Royle sought the return of one apprentice, whom he described as "very thick, stoops much, and has a down look; he is a little Pock-pitted, has a Scar on one of his Temples, is much

addicted to Liquor, very talkative when drunk and remarkably stupid." However, despite this unflattering portrayal, Royle offered the hefty sum of L5 for the young man's return. James Franklin also placed an ad in his New-England Courant when his apprenticed brother ran away, informing readers that "James Franklin, Printer in Queen Street, wants a likely lad for an apprentice." (27)

Peter Timothy had a particularly difficult time with one of his apprentices, Charles Crouch. In 1750 Timothy printed a notice that Crouch had run away and warned, "whoever harbors or entertains him will be prosecuted with the utmost severity." The following year, the 16-year-old Crouch "absented himself" again, prompting Timothy to comment that the apprentice "hath since (as well as at many other times) been seen tipling and gaming in divers public houses in this town." Timothy described him as having "a mighty pleasant countenance," although "his knees incline inward to each other." Crouch seems to have stayed put for two years before wanderlust struck again in February, 1753. This time, Crouch tried to collect Timothy's debts for his own use. Timothy warned "that no person whosoever, do pay any monies on my account to Charles Crouch, or have any dealings with him in my name." Timothy reported that Crouch was "at Port-Royal, where he pretended to be free and that he was sent to collect my debts in the country." Crouch was apprehended, but ran away again in June. (28)

Ironically, when Timothy suspended publication of his South-Carolina Gazette shortly after passage of the American Stamp Act, Charleston radicals turned to his disloyal ex-apprentice,

setting up Crouch with his own printing shop and newspaper and supporting this "worthless Fellow" with "their utmost Zeal and Interest," Timothy informed Franklin. As a result, Timothy found himself "from the most popular reduced to the most unpopular Man in the Province [emphasis is Timothy's]." Adding to the irony is the fact that Crouch was Timothy's brother-in-law. Timothy soon regained their favor by vigorously supporting the non-importation movement. (29)

III

Franklin had many early experiences which impressed on him the importance of responsible behavior and later influenced his choices of partners, proteges and business associates.

Growing restless in Keimer's shop and wishing to set up his own printing house, Franklin was persuaded by provincial governor William Keith to open a shop in Philadelphia. Keith, a popular politician whom many credited with leading Philadelphia out of an economic depression in the 1720s, envisioned Franklin as a political ally in the press and promised him the colonial government's printing contracts. Franklin agreed and traveled to London at Keith's request to establish business relationships with suppliers of books and stationery and secure the needed supplies. These were to be purchased with Letters of Credit Keith promised to send, along with letters of recommendation.

Franklin arrived December 24, 1724, but these documents were never sent, and it was not until his arrival in London that Franklin saw Keith's true colors -- "to be liberal of Promises which he never meant to keep. Yet unsolicited as he was by me,

how could I think his generous Offers insincere? I believ'd him one of the best Men in the World." In his autobiography, Franklin treated Keith kindly, wryly remarking, "He wish'd to please every body; and having little to give, he gave Expectations." (30)

With his expectations shattered and finding himself in need of employment, Franklin secured a position as a journeyman with Samuel Palmer's printing house, but after nearly a year joined John Watts' shop for better pay, more prestige and more agreeable work. While there, Franklin became disenchanted with the behavior and rituals of the London apprentices and journeymen. (31)

Franklin deplored his fellow pressmen's practice of drinking on the job. "I drank only water; the other Workmen, near 50 in number, were great Guzzlers of Beer," he recalled. Laughed at as "the Water-American," Franklin impressed his colleagues by regularly carrying a large form of type in each hand, while the others, who drank "strong beer that [they] might be strong to labour [emphasis is Franklin's]," could carry only one form. Franklin explained to them the strength beer afforded was only proportional to the flour of the barley it contained, and that more flour could be found in a piece of bread, which was much less expensive. His attempt at persuasion was ignored, though, causing Franklin to dismiss the workers' excessive consumption of beer as "a detestable Custom." (32)

Watts soon promoted Franklin from the press room to the composing room, where he found himself expected to pay the newcomer's fee of five shillings for beer. Franklin refused, having paid the fee while a pressman. "I had thought it an

Imposition, as I had paid below," Franklin wrote. "The Master thought so too, and forbad my paying it." Franklin held out for two or three weeks and "was accordingly considered as an Excommunicate." His refusal to pay earned him the ire of the "Chapel," another staple of print-shop rituals. (33)

During the eighteenth century, a pagan mysticism reminiscent of the Middle Ages was followed by workers in printing houses, particularly in Europe. Derived from Greek and Oriental philosophy, this mysticism involved various secret rituals. The printing house was called a "chapel" and its workers were members of the chapel. Chapels levied fines of varying amounts, known as "solaces," on workers for both pragmatic and frivolous reasons. For instance, according to seventeenth-century London printer Joseph Moxon, fighting, lying, dropping tools or neglecting to put tools away at the end of a day merited a solace, but so did marrying, receiving a visit from one's wife at the chapel and having a child (a daughter was more costly to a journeyman than a son). Apprentices, who were not fully-admitted members of the chapel, were exempt from most of these charges, except their obligation to pay half a Crown when they were bound to indentures and again when they were freed from them. Every Saturday (the usual pay day in print shops), workers shared the fines collected. (34)

If a worker declined to pay a fine, "The Workmen take him by force, and lay him on his belly athwart the Correcting-Stone, and held him there while another of the Work-men, with a Paper-Board, gave him ... Eleven blows on his buttocks; which he laid on according to his own mercy," Moxon related. Sometimes mercy was in short supply, though, as Moxon told of a worker who was hit "with

so much violence, that he presently Pissed Blood, and shortly after dyed of it." (35)

Franklin's refusal to pay twice for beer he did not consume could have prompted such treatment, but instead compositors performed "so many little Pieces of private Mischief, including "mixing my Sorts, transposing my Pages, breaking my Matter, &c. &c. if I were ever so little out of the Room," he wrote. These acts of sabotage were blamed on the "Chapel Ghost," which Franklin was told haunted those who refused to comply with the chapel's wishes. (36)

Finally, "notwithstanding the Master's Protection, I found myself oblig'd to comply and pay the Money; convinced of the Folly of being on ill Terms with those one is to live with continually," Franklin wrote. Enjoying better relations with the compositors after having paid the fee, Franklin gained "considerable Influence" among them. He obtained this status partly through his willingness to buy beer for those workers who had lost their credit at the local tavern. Franklin regularly recovered his loans at "the Pay table on Saturday Night." (37)

As Franklin gained influence among his co-workers, he persuaded them to make some alterations in their chapel laws and daily rituals. For example, he convinced many to abandon "their muddling Breakfast of Beer & Bread & Cheese" for "a large Porringer of hot Water-gruel, sprinkled with Pepper, crumb'd with Bread, & a Bit of Butter in it, for the Price of a Pint of Beer" procured "from a neighbouring House." Franklin added, "This was a more comfortable as well as cheaper Breakfast, & kept their Heads clearer." (38)

These experiences and observations of wastefulness, drunkenness and ritual left a lasting impression on Franklin, as evidenced by his reward of partnerships to his most industrious and well-behaved workers. This elevation to master-printer status probably served as a tempting incentive for Franklin's workers to behave more responsibly than their European counterparts.

When a Quaker merchant who had befriended Franklin during the voyage to London, Thomas Denham, proposed that the two return to Philadelphia and set up a mercantile business, Franklin agreed. "I took leave of printing, as I supposed for ever," he wrote. He was tired of London, homesick and desirous of resuming his romance with Deborah Read, whom he later married. Franklin later attributed the decision to leave London primarily to "the cords of love and friendship" between he and Deborah. (39)

When Denham and Franklin returned to Philadelphia on October 11, 1726, they opened a shop on Water Street, where Franklin "attended the Business diligently, studied Accounts, and grew in a little Time expert at selling." However, Denham soon became ill and died, leaving Franklin a small sum in his will. When Denham's heirs took over the business and dismissed Franklin, he returned to Keimer's printing house. Franklin remained there only a short time before forming a partnership with Keimer's pressman Hugh Meredith. Financed by Meredith's father, Franklin and Meredith opened their own shop, the third in Philadelphia, in 1728. (40)

Franklin had planned to initiate a newspaper to compete with the other newspaper in Philadelphia, Andrew Bradford's American Weekly Mercury, which Franklin termed "a paltry thing, wretchedly manag'd, no way entertaining; and yet was profitable to him."

When former Keimer journeyman George Webb went to Franklin for a job, Franklin told him of the plans and swore him to secrecy. But when Franklin refused to hire him, Webb told all to Keimer, who rehired Webb and then publicly announced his intention to produce a newspaper before Franklin could undertake the project. Incensed, Franklin wrote articles under various pseudonyms, including "Busy Body," in Bradford's newspaper, ridiculing Keimer and his plan. By the time Keimer's paper commenced publication, on December 24, 1728, it had been so thoroughly lampooned that it never secured more than 90 subscribers and folded after about nine months. (41)

Keimer sold the newspaper, entitled The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences: and Pennsylvania Gazette, for "a Trifle" to Franklin and Meredith on October 2, 1729, sold his printing shop to one of his former apprentices, David Harry, and moved to Barbados. Franklin and Meredith shortened the newspaper's name to The Pennsylvania Gazette, and it soon became one of the most entertaining and profitable newspapers in the colonies. (42)

This partnership did not succeed, though. "Meredith was no Compostor, a poor Pressman, & seldom sober," Franklin wrote. He "was often seen drunk in the Streets, & playing at low Games in Alehouses, much to our Discredit." This behavior led Franklin to conclude, "the whole Management of the Business lay upon me." When Meredith told Franklin that he no longer wished to be a printer, preferring instead to buy land in North Carolina and farm it, Franklin bought out Meredith with a loan provided by friends Robert Grace and William Coleman. Although he had plunged into debt, Franklin had become sole proprietor of both

the printing press and the newspaper. He later proposed a partnership to Harry, "which he, fortunately for me, rejected with Scorn." (43)

IV

Franklin's arduous involvements with Keith, Keimer, Webb, Meredith and Harry influenced his expectations of others and prompted him to exercise great care in his business relationships. Guided by the prudence and circumspection which were to become hallmarks of his persona, Franklin quickly pursued other partnerships, most of which fared successfully. Many of these partnerships were formed with workers whom he deemed worthy by setting them up in various communities as contractually-bound partners. Inspired by early success in the development of his printing partnerships, Franklin wrote, "I was encourag'd to ... promote several of my Workmen who had behaved well, by establishing them with Printing-Houses in different Colonies." (44)

Franklin used apprentices and journeymen in a novel manner. Often apprentices were indentured to relatives who were printers, so that once the apprentices became journeymen or masters, they would forge a business alliance with their kin. However, unlike the common practice of cultivating loosely-structured printing associations through familial relationships, Franklin's network was the first in America to consist chiefly of non-family members.

Franklin supplied them with press and types, shared the cost of materials, used them as agents to sell his Poor Richard's Almanack and received one-third of his partners' profits for the duration of the contract, which was usually six years. When the

contract expired, the printer had the option of continuing the arrangement or buying Franklin's press and types. (45)

These contracts were remarkably thorough and similar, a point in which Franklin took pride. He attributed his many successful partnerships to "the Precaution of having very explicitly Settled in our Articles every thing to be done by or expected from each Partner, so that there was Nothing to dispute ..." (46)

Franklin's preparation of apprentices for their own printing houses represented a substantial departure from the European system, also practiced in colonial America, in which master craftsmen used apprenticeships to limit the growth of trades by substituting apprentices for journeymen and other hired help, thereby avoiding payment of wages and thus preventing journeymen from raising enough money to open their own shops. (47) Instead, Franklin -- alone and in tandem with his protege Parker -- used apprentices and journeymen alike to expand the printing trade to communities with no printer or which offered room for competition. This practice was emulated later in the century by Isaiah Thomas and others. (48)

By relying on the virtues he so often professed -- hard work, honesty and sobriety -- Franklin made his small business grow. He hired Thomas Whitmarsh, a compositor he had known in London, as a journeyman and took on Joseph Rose, the son of former William Bradford employee Aquila Rose, as an apprentice. When the Assembly of South Carolina offered L1000 in 1731 to induce a printer to open shop in that colony, Franklin and Whitmarsh formed a partnership. According to its terms, Whitmarsh was to set up a printing house in

Charleston, use equipment provided by Franklin, share the cost of the materials with him and give him one-third of the profit. The arrangement was to have lasted for six years. (49)

That Whitmarsh was contractually bound to print only with Franklin's equipment effectively prevented his own expansion. Thus, Franklin had not only extended his influence to the South but also controlled Whitmarsh, forming the first in a series of partnerships which would eventually become a printing network, with Franklin as its nexus.

When Whitmarsh died unexpectedly in 1733, Franklin sent his Philadelphia journeyman, Lewis Timothy, as a replacement. When he died five years later, Franklin first took on wife Elizabeth Timothy and then son Peter Timothy as associates. Although both Whitmarsh and Lewis Timothy died not long after becoming Franklin's partners, he regarded the South Carolina venture a success. This inspired him to establish other partnerships and working arrangements from New England to Antigua. "The Partnership at Carolina having succeeded, I was encourag'd to engage in others, and to promote several of my Workmen who had behaved well, by establishing them with Printing-Houses in different Colonies, on the same terms with that in Carolina." In 1741 Franklin set up James Parker (William Bradford's runaway apprentice whom Franklin had hired as a journeyman) in New York and in 1748 sent journeyman Thomas Smith to Antigua. (50)

Franklin's partnerships enabled him to benefit financially from this expansion of trade, as it offered him numerous markets in which to sell printing supplies and Poor Richard's Almanack as well as established him as an entrepreneur. Part of Franklin's

success in establishing these lucrative partnerships was based on his ability to select for partnerships printers he could trust and then to bind them with a detailed contract. "Partnerships often finish in Quarrels," Franklin wrote, "but I was Happy in this, that mine were all carry'd on and ended amicably; owing I think a good deal to the Precaution of having very explicitly settled in our Articles every thing to be done by or expected from each Partner, so that there was nothing to dispute ..." These copious contracts were essential to the stability of the partnerships and the network. (51)

Franklin also established working relationships with several family members. He took nephew James Franklin, Jr. into his Philadelphia shop in 1740 for a seven-year apprenticeship. When the term expired, Franklin offered his nephew the opportunity to form a partnership and open a printing house in New Haven, but the youth returned to his Newport, R.I. home, joining his mother Ann as a printer. (52)

Still desirous of opening a shop in New Haven, Franklin turned to his nephew Benjamin Mecom, whom Franklin had arranged to be apprenticed to Parker and who had taken over the Antigua shop when Smith died. Having moved from Antigua to Boston, Mecom declined, forcing his uncle to persuade Parker to run the New Haven firm, in addition to printing operations in New York and Woodbridge, N.J., with his own coterie of partners.

By the summer of 1743, Franklin had financed and profited from three printing houses: his in Philadelphia, Timothy's in Charleston and Parker's in New York. However, he had further expansion on his

mind, as he revealed to longtime friend and London printer William Strahan. In response to a letter from Strahan recommending a young journeyman, Franklin wrote, "I have already three Printing-Houses in three different colonies, and purpose to set up a fourth if I can meet with a proper Person to manage it, having all the materials ready for that purpose." Franklin added that "if the young Man will venture over hither" and discuss a working arrangement, "I make no doubt but he will think my proposals reasonable ..." The "young man" was David Hall, a journeyman for Strahan who had also worked for Watts. Franklin hired him in 1744 as a journeyman, intending to set him up in the West Indies. However, Franklin liked Hall so much that he made him a partner in the Philadelphia shop on January 1, 1748. This enabled Franklin to retire from active service as a printer, although he remained a silent partner. The partnership lasted 18 years. (53)

Many apprentices and journeymen worked for Franklin, some of whom rose to partnership and their own printing houses in colonial cities. As these men set out on their own, they secured their own workers and some, partners, all the while remaining bound to Franklin by contract and/or loyalty. Although Franklin was motivated more by money than altruism, (54) his establishment of a network of printers contributed to the growth of the trade. Franklin "augmented the intercolonial movement of journeymen and the planting of papers," Arthur M. Schlesinger wrote. "Training a succession of young hands in his shop, he saw with his characteristic blend of idealism and practicality how he could at the same time promote popular enlightenment and benefit his pocketbook." (55)

The apprenticeship system in printing and other trades had slowly atrophied into virtual abandonment by the late 1860s due to the effects of mechanization, economic depressions, the demands of journeymen's unions, the Civil War and ultimately a new American ideology of self-responsibility, but it had begun to fade as early as the 1770s, and had all but disintegrated by the latter decades of the nineteenth century. (56)

However, during its heyday it made a major contribution to American journalism. The apprenticeship system, in which youths offered themselves as cheap labor in exchange for the promise of vocational education, formed the foundation for the structural growth of the early-American press. Apprentices, who were commonly adolescent males, came from various social classes, as printing was less class-based than many other trades of the era.

Once they had mastered the trade, many apprentices sought to become journeyman printers and earn a living via their printing skills. Commonly, these journeymen aspired to save enough money to buy a shop and supplies of their own, thereby achieving master-printer status. This system of vocational training and advancement not only filled the ranks in the printing trade, but also encouraged its expansion by providing more skilled craftsmen. The encouragement of trade growth represented a considerable departure from European printing, in which apprenticeships were used just as much to limit their crafts because they were overrun with aspiring artisans.

Franklin altered not only the European trade practice, but the American printing custom as well, by recruiting some of his

apprentices and journeymen for partnerships, in which he provided them with a press and types and established them with printing houses in communities which either had no printer or offered room for competition. As these partners formed their own associations, and as Franklin formed others on his own, the Franklin printing network began to take shape.

To construct the network, Franklin, and eventually his partners, recruited those workers whose character most impressed Franklin (and probably reminded him of his own frugality, sobriety and work ethic) to situations of mutual gain by promoting them to partnerships. The apprenticeship system supplied the pool of talent integral to the success of the network. (57)

With Franklin supplying the capital and materials for his workers to set up shop (thus eliminating the obstacle which prevented many early-American journeymen from setting up on their own), his partners formed associations and became economically viable. This signaled a movement away from reliance on political and social elites, who had helped support the press in the early eighteenth century in order to control a means of articulating and generating support for their views. This was apparently Governor Keith's intention for Franklin and was surely the aim of a group of leading New York citizens, including several lawyers and ministers, who enlisted Parker's aid in 1752 to publish The Independent Reflector, a weekly magazine which attacked New York politics, criticized church sponsorship of education and exposed governmental corruption. (58)

The fact that a segment of the laboring class assumed control

of American mass communication presaged an increase in political activity among the lower classes, as newspapers, mostly of the anti-administration ilk, made pitches to laborers. "Liberty can never subsist without Equality," the inaugural issue of the Boston Independent Advertiser proclaimed, "So when Men's Riches become immeasurably or surprizingly great, a People who regard their own Security, ought to make strict Enquiry, how they came by them ... But some will say, is it a crime to be rich? Yes, certainly, At the Publick Expense." (59)

While they had their own views and aspirations, Franklin and his partners seemed to have had a similar political ideology. This raises the question of whether Franklin selected printers for partnerships because they possessed an ideology similar to his or whether he inculcated his views into them, either through subtle persuasion or explicit coercion. While the evidence is so scanty that one can only be speculative, it would seem that Franklin consciously chose partners whose beliefs resembled his own. This may have been part of what Franklin meant when he referred to recruiting printers who had "behaved well" or were "of good character." It is equally likely that Franklin, recalling the antipathy toward masters and the laxity found in some European and American printing houses, as well as the problem of runaway apprentices, sought to avoid these labor difficulties.

Despite the network printers' kindred political ideologies and views of their work, some stern words appear to have been necessary when individual predilections conflicted with network imperatives.

The apprenticeship system served as both vocational training and a means of advancement and growth in early-American printing.

Franklin used his workers in a novel manner by promoting them to partnerships. The printing activities of Franklin and his cohorts indicate the significance of associations among printers. These associations, when interconnected, formed loosely-structured but nonetheless influential networks. These structures enlarged the scope of the early-American printing trade, aided in the dissemination of information and opinion and impressed the significance of journalism upon the collective consciousness of early America.

NOTES

1. For an example of the apprentice's obligations, see Samuel Richardson, The Apprentice's Vade Mecum (London: Samuel Richardson, 1734; reprint ed., Los Angeles: The Augustan Reprint Society, 1975), pp. 2-20. On the menial nature of some tasks, see O. Jocelyn Dunlop and Richard D. Denman, English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: A History (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), pp. 19-20; Sharon V. Salinger, "To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682-1800 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 7. On beatings endured by printing apprentices, see J.A. Rorabaugh, The Craft Apprentice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) pp. 11, 43, 93, 103, 193.
2. Rorabaugh, The Craft Apprentice pp. 6-7.
3. David A. Anderson, "The Origins of the Press Clause," U.C.L.A. Law Review 30 (February 1983): 455-541; Jeffery A. Smith, Printers and Press Freedom (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
4. Gary B. Nash, "The Transformation of Urban Politics, 1700-1765," Journal of American History 60 (December 1973): 606, 616-20; The Urban Crucible (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 199, 224, 321, 363, 374; Benjamin Franklin to Joseph Galloway, February 17, 1758, in Leonard W. Labaree, William B. Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959-), 7:374. For the contrary view that the press was politically lethargic until the Revolution, see Arthur M. Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), pp. 61-66, 296-97. More generally, for the view that radical politics should not be associated with years prior to the 1763 Sugar Act, see Merrill Jensen, "The American People and the American Revolution," Journal of American History 57 (June 1970): 5-35.
5. Daniel Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (New York: Random House, 1958), pp. 325, 335; MaryAnn Yodelis, "Who Paid the Piper? Publishing Economics in Boston, 1763-1775," Journalism Monographs 38 (February 1975): 1-2.
6. Reprinted in James Alexander, A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, 2d ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 81. On the press' function as a check on government, see Vincent Blasi, "The Checking Value in First Amendment Theory," American Bar Foundation Research Journal 1977 (Summer 1977): 521-649.

7. Richard B. Morris, Government and Labor in Early America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), pp. 363-389. Demonstrating Enlightenment thinking, seventeenth-century London printer Joseph Moxon argued that typography, which consists of punch-cutting, founding and printing, is a mathematical science. Joseph Moxon, Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing, 2d ed., Herbert Davis and Harry Carter, eds. (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 10-12.
8. Because postage was a considerable expense for colonists, Franklin regarded the job as "very suitable to me." Not only would it eliminate the cost of correspondence between network members and himself, it would also enable him to "execute a Scheme long since form'd," the establishment of the American Philosophical Society, which, he told a correspondent, "would soon produce something agreeable to you and to all Lovers of Useful Knowledge, for I have now a large Acquaintance among ingenious Men in America." Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 21, 1751, in Leonard W. Labaree, William B. Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959-) 4:135.
 Being a colonial postmaster meant that a printer could have access to newspapers from other colonies and countries first, which meant he was sometimes able to print items from those newspapers before his competition. Serving as a postmaster also gave a printer considerable power over the mails. For example, while acting as the Philadelphia postmaster in 1740, Franklin temporarily prevented a competing printer from having access to the mail, claiming the competitor's arrears in accounts with the Postmaster General. Pennsylvania Gazette December 11, 1740.
9. Some of the printers were Anthony Armbruester, Gotthard Armbruester, Benjamin Bache, Johannes Boehm, Francis Childs, William Daniell, William Dunlap, Hugh Gaine, William Goddard, Thomas Green, David Hall, Samuel Holland, John Holt, Ann Franklin, James Franklin Jr., Benjamin Mecom, Hugh Meredith, John Henry Miller, James Parker, Samuel Parker, Thomas Powell, Thomas Smith, William Smith, Elizabeth Timothy, Lewis Timothy, Peter Timothy, William Weyman and Thomas Whitmarsh.
10. For more information on Franklin's network of printing partnerships, see Ralph Frasca, "Benjamin Franklin's Printing Network," American Journalism 5 (July 1988). Also, John Clyde Oswald, Benjamin Franklin, Printer (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1917), pp. 138-150; Charles W. Wetherell, "Brokers of the Word: An Essay in the Social History of the Early American Press 1639-1783" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Hampshire, 1980); Smith, Printers and Press Freedom, pp. 124-41, Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), pp. 115-23.

11. Jeremy Belknap to Ebenezer Hazard, April 29, May 18, 1787, in "Belknap Papers," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 5th series, 2 (1877): 2:473, 478-79.
12. Rorabaugh, The Craft Apprentice, cites many examples of poor behavior by both masters and apprentices; Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), pp. 75-104. Darnton's book offers a telling insight into the dark side of master-worker relations: "The masters love cats, so consequently [workers] must hate them." (p. 103)
13. John Clapham, A Concise Economic History of Britain (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 133. An example of an apprentice plying a low-status trade because of this expectation was George Robert Twelves Hewes of Boston, apprenticed to a shoemaker because he could not afford to pay a fee. Alfred F. Young, "George Robert Twelves Hewes (1742-1840): A Boston Shoemaker and the Memory of the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d series, 38 (October 1981): 561-623.
14. "Information to Those Who Would Remove to America," circa 1783, in Albert Smyth, ed., The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (New York: Mcmillan Co., 1905-07), 8:612-13. See also "Some Observations on North America, and the Colonies of Great Britain There," July, 1766, in Labaree, Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin 13:356.
15. J.A. Leo Lemay and P.M. Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), p. 10-11.
16. South-Carolina Gazette, April 6, 1752, August 19, 1756. For additional insight into Timothy's meaning of the term "well-recommended," see Jeffery A. Smith, "Impartiality and Revolutionary Ideology: Editorial Policies of the South-Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775," Journal of Southern History 49 (November 1983): 518-19.
17. Journeymen have been referred to as "nothing else than vagabond persons, bound to no master." I.F. Grant, quoted in Clapham, A Concise Economic History of Britain, p. 133-34. David Pottinger has noted that in Europe, journeymen were theoretically men who had completed their apprenticeships but had not been received as a master in the guild. This lack of acceptance was usually due to two factors -- insufficient capital with which to set up a shop or legal restrictions on the number of masters, in which case journeymen would wait for a vacancy to occur. David T. Pottinger, The French Book Trade in the Ancien Regime (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 241.

18. Rorabaugh, The Craft Apprentice, p. 8, 94; Wroth, The Colonial Printer, pp. 158-59; Henry Rosemont, "Benjamin Franklin and the Philadelphia Typographical Strikers of 1786," Labor History 22 (Summer 1981): 398-429. Few reliable sources exist which suggest the average duration of an apprenticeship in colonial America during the early 18th Century. However, one scholar found that 189 of 198 apprenticeships in New York from 1718 to 1727 were for seven years or more, with 120 of those requiring seven years. Paul H. Douglas, American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol. 216 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921), p. 40. Interestingly, Douglas notes that trades in colonial America could be mastered in less than five years. An apprenticeship which required more time than this "was an exploitation of the boy." Ibid., p. 51.
19. This document was so named because of its indented edges, which served as a legal precaution. Articles of indenture were written in duplicate on one sheet of paper, with each part signed and witnessed before the document was torn in half. The master kept one part and the apprentice's parents or guardian retained the other. In the event of a legal dispute arising between the parties, the authenticity of the document could be verified by matching the indentations on the two documents. This protected against fraud. Rorabaugh, The Craft Apprentice, p. 7.
20. The New-York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy, May 25, 1752; James Parker, "An Humble Address to the PUBLICK," broadside reprinted in Beverly McAnear, "James Parker versus John Holt," Proceeding of the New Jersey Historical Society 59 (April, 1941): 95; Alan Dyer, A Biography of James Parker, Colonial Printer (Troy, N.Y.: Whitston, 1982), p. 3-4. A photocopy of the James Parker apprenticeship indenture, dated January 1, 1726, is in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. Parker's estimation of his printing skill is supported by at least two historians. Victor Paltsits wrote of Parker, "In his day he was in eminence and efficiency the equal of any printer in English-America. He was a better printer than Bradford or Franklin." Dumas Malone, ed., The Dictionary of American Biography 7 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958): 227. Isaiah Thomas, a contemporary of Parker, noted that Parker "was a correct and eminent printer ... He possessed a sound judgment, and a good heart; was industrious in business, and upright in his dealings." Isaiah Thomas, The History of Printing in America (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1810; reprint ed., New York: Weatherwane, 1970), p. 520.

21. New York Gazette May 17, 1733; American Mercury June 21, 1733; Benjamin Franklin to Jane Mecom, June? 1748, in Labaree, Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin 3:301. It is reasonable to conclude that Parker served a penalty for running away because he said he worked more than eight years as an apprentice and worked for Bradford in 1741. Had Parker run away and never completed his apprenticeship, it is doubtful he would have been hired by Bradford eight years later. See Dyer, A Biography of James Parker, Colonial Printer, pp. 4-5.
22. Franklin's indentures have disappeared. This account is based on Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text p. 11 and on items typically found in apprenticeship agreements (including those Franklin formed with his apprentices).
23. Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, pp. 18-20.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-27.
25. Margaret Gay Davies, The Enforcement of English Apprenticeship, 1563-1642 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 82; Dunlop and Denman, English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: A History, p. 85; Rorabaugh, The Craft Apprentice, p. 5, 7. While skilled workers in printing and several other prestigious crafts were in demand, there was not such a demand for workers in lower-level crafts. See Billy G. Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750 to 1800," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d series, 38 (April 1981): 163-202; Nash, The Urban Crucible, chaps. 3, 5, 9 passim.
26. Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, pp. 98-99.
27. American Weekly Mercury June 13, 1728; Virginia Gazette December 12, 1745; Maryland Gazette May 2, 1765; New-England Courant September 30, 1723.
28. South-Carolina Gazette March 5, 1750, March 4, 1751, February 12, 1753, February 26, 1753, June 25, 1753.
29. Peter Timothy to Benjamin Franklin, September 3, 1768, in Labaree, Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, 15:200-01; Thomas, The History of Printing in America, p. 571. For further information on Timothy's activities and their effect on his reputation, see Smith, "Impartiality and Revolutionary Ideology: Editorial Policies of the South-Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775," Journal of Southern History 49 (November 1983): 522-24.

30. Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, pp. 28-29, 34, 39-42; Nash, The Urban Crucible, pp. 148-54; Thomas Wendel, "The Keith-Lloyd Alliance: Factional and Coalition Politics in Colonial Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 92 (July 1968).
31. Lemay and Zall, The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, pp. 42-43, 45.
32. Ibid., pp. 45-46.
33. Ibid., p. 46.
34. Bernard Fay, Franklin, the Apostle of Modern Times (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1929) p. 90; Moxon, Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing, pp. 323-28.
35. Moxon, Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing, p. 324.
36. Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, p. 46.
37. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
38. Ibid., p. 47
39. Ibid., p. 50; Benjamin Franklin to Catharine Ray, September 11, 1755, in Labaree, Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, 6:184. The benefits Franklin reaped from his association with Denham and other Quaker merchants is discussed in Frederick B. Tolles, "Benjamin Franklin's Business Mentors: The Philadelphia Quaker Merchants," William and Mary Quarterly 4 (January, 1947): 60-69.
40. Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, pp. 50, 52-53, 55-56, 59-60.
41. Ibid., pp. 63-64.
42. Ibid., p. 64, 68.
43. "From Hugh Meredith: Dissolution of Partnership," July 14, 1730, in Labaree, Willcox, et al., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, 1:175-76; Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, pp. 64-66, 68.
44. Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, p. 108.
45. These stipulations may be found in any of Franklin's partnership contracts, some of which are reproduced in Labaree, Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, passim.

46. Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, p. 108.
47. Rorabaugh, The Craft Apprentice, pp. 8-9; Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, The Coming of the Book (London: NLB, 1976), pp. 129, 134-35; Pottinger, The French Book Trade in the Ancien Regime (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) pp. 265-68, 279-80. For a contrasting view, see John U. Nef, Industry and Government in France and England, 1540-1640 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1964) p. 22.
48. Wetherell, "Brokers of the Word: An Essay in the Social History of the Early American Press, 1639-1783," pp. 122-26.
49. "Articles of Agreement with Thomas Whitmarsh," September 13, 1731, in Labaree, Willcox, et al., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, 1:205-208; Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, p. 68.
50. Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, p. 108. For a more detailed discussion of Franklin's partnerships, see Frasca, "Benjamin Franklin's Printing Network."
51. Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, p. 108. As an example that Franklin's partnerships were lucrative, during the 18 years he was a silent partner with Hall, he averaged £467 per year from that enterprise alone -- the approximate income of a high-priced colonial lawyer. Esmond Wright, Franklin of Philadelphia (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 52.
52. Ibid., p. 98; "James Franklin: Indenture of Apprenticeship," November 5, 1740, in Labaree, Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, 2:261-63.
53. Benjamin Franklin to William Strahan, July 10, 1743, in Labaree, Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin 2:383-84; Benjamin Franklin to William Strahan, July 4, 1744 in Ibid., 2:409; "Articles of Agreement with David Hall," January 1, 1748 in Ibid., 3:263-67; Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, p. 119; Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin (New York: Viking, 1938), p. 123.

54. According to network printer William Goddard, Franklin and several of his associates were motivated by the quest for "Wealth & Power for themselves & Connexions." At the onset of the American Revolution, Samuel Adams and other Whig leaders, suspecting Franklin of being "a suspicious doubtful character," asked for Goddard's opinion of Franklin's political leanings. Goddard recalled, "I told them if they could convince him that it would redound to his INTEREST to support the American Cause, he would soon declare himself in its Favour, and not otherwise." William Goddard to Isaiah Thomas, April 15, 1811, Isaiah Thomas Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

A perusal of primary sources would seem to lend to support to Goddard's assertion. While Franklin likely had a philanthropic interest in the growth of the early-American press, this was probably not his primary impetus. There are few references in Franklin's autobiography and papers which suggest altruism as his central motivation for establishing the partnerships. There are, however, sufficient references to profits and expenditures to lead one to believe this was Franklin's primary interest. Franklin's contractual arrangements with his partners netted him a percentage -- usually one-third -- of the total profits the partners made.

55. Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence, p. 56.
56. Lawrence C. Wroth, The Colonial Printer (New York: The Grolier Club, 1931; reprint ed., Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, Dominion Books, 1964), pp. 156-68; Rorabaugh, The Craft Apprentice, pp. 16-25, 76, 95-96, 208-209.
57. Franklin enumerated this code of conduct early in life. At the age of 20, he wrote a "Plan of Conduct" while at sea, returning to Philadelphia from his stay in London. The plan calls for frugality, honesty, sincerity, industriousness, patience and avoidance of foolish diversions. Years later, Franklin wrote of his plan, "It is the more remarkable, as being form'd when I was so young, and yet being pretty faithfully adhered to quite thro' to old Age." "Plan of Conduct" in Labaree, Willcox, et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, 1:99-100; Lemay and Zall, eds., The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, A Genetic Text, p. 52.
58. Milton M. Klein, ed., The Independent Reflector (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 57, 336-42; Dyer, A Biography of James Parker, Colonial Printer, pp. 31-39, 41-43.
59. Boston Independent Advertiser, January 25, 1748.